

R. Bellamy
+ Lemoine
J. M. Lemoine
FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

SECOND SERIES—1895-96

THE ARCHIVES OF CANADA
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
For 1895

By J. McPHERSON LEMOINE,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA FOR 1894-5.

Colligite fragmenta ne pereant.

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THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF CANADIAN HISTORY AS REVEALED BY
OUR ARCHIVES.

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If family papers are cherished, claim respect in the home circle as memoirs of an unforgotten past, how much more ought to be prized, carefully garnered and preserved, the records of a whole people, that is, its public archives.

Their contents inspire an interest confined not to one family alone; they embrace society at large—the aggregate of thousands of families.

A nation's history lies in its archives; there can it be sought; there rests the enduring evidence of its existence—the authentic certificate of its origin—its title deeds—the story of its achievements, good or bad.

These records, mayhap dusty, unprepossessing, of access arduous, call forth feelings of interest whenever we meet with them; the year part and parcel, fragments of one's country, dispersed far from home sometimes, *les lambeaux de la patrie dispersée*, as a French writer styles them.

One experiences a legitimate pride, when on wading through these old parchments or ponderous folios, one lights on brave, patriotic or warlike

deeds, accounts of wise, great or good men, though seen in the obscure distance, showing that one's people is of honourable, ancient lineage, not an irresponsible mushroom community without a past, heedless of a future.

Often these crabbed, uninviting documents are scanned, appealed to, in preference to the highly wrought, tinted version of the modern historian wedded to new-fangled theories, peculiar schools of thought, bent on perverting, omitting or colouring facts, so as to make them dovetail into systems of belief, ancient or modern.

Canada, like other countries, has her archives, private and public, though the patriotic duty of collecting them, at home and abroad, has of late years only seriously commended itself to public attention.

Where were our archives in the past? Where are they at present? I hear some one ask.

Until measures were taken, in 1872, to collect them, portions more or less considerable existed in London, Paris, Rouen, Madrid, Venice, Amsterdam, St. Petersburg, Washington, Boston, Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto.

Quebec, the citadel of French power in the new world nearly three centuries ago, as such was supplied by the French king with a complete set of public officials, from a magnificent viceroy down to a humble water bailiff, without omitting a hangman.

She necessarily became the depository of the innumerable official documents, despatches, commissions, maps, plans and correspondence, affecting the relations of the mother-country with her pet colony.

It was necessary to provide for the civil and military administration of the new dependency in every branch of the public service.

The litigious character of her Norman and Breton peasantry very soon called forth a large outfit of judicial officials, whilst her peculiar position as the key, the bulwark of French dominion in North America, required defensive works and the appointment of a military staff adequate to its defence.

For more than two hundred years, an object of jealousy to the surrounding Indian tribes, as well as a menace to the sturdy, progressive, but unwarlike British colonies beyond the border, her's became a martial record of respectable proportions. The history of her five sieges alone fills many volumes.

The art of the printer being nearly unknown at Quebec under the early régime, her chronicles had to be noted down in manuscript form for preservation or for transmission to France.

It would be too lengthy, a tedious operation in fact, to attempt furnishing a full list of the old French records of the province of Quebec.

With your permission I will confine myself to reviewing the most notable ones. Conspicuously stand forth those recently published by the

Provincial Government,¹ at Quebec, by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,² by the Société Historique de Montréal.

For years these precious documents had rested unproductive, as it were, closed to the public eye, in the vaults of the Quebec parliament house and in the subterranean apartments of the court house. Montreal, too, had its old records stored in the moist vaults of its court house.

We have to note, and we do so with pleasure, the beneficent action of a previous governor, Lord Dorchester, who ordered these documents to be examined and reported on.

After the signature of the final treaty ceding Canada to England in 1763, it was deemed necessary to have an inventory made of all the old French archives. This measure interested both of the belligerent parties; the victors had agreed by capitulation, as well as by treaty, to respect the laws of the vanquished.

¹ Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle France, 1492-1789, 7 volumes quarto.

Jugements du Conseil Supérieur, 1663-1685, 2 volumes quarto.

Montcalm et Lévis, Guerre du Canada, 1756-1760, 2 volumes quarto.

Journal du Chevalier de Lévis, 1756-1760, 1 volume quarto. 343 p.

Lettres du Chevalier de Lévis, 1756-1760, 1 volume quarto. 473 p.

Lettres de la Cour de Versailles, 1756-1760, 1 volume quarto.

Les Pièces Militaires, 1 volume quarto.

Lettres de Bourlamaque à Lévis, 1756-1760, 1 volume quarto.

Lettres de Montcalm à Bourlamaque, 1756, 1 volume quarto.

Lettres de Montcalm à Lévis, 1756, 1 volume quarto. 240 p.

Journal de Montcalm, 1756, 1 volume quarto. 626 p.

By Société Historique de Montréal, 9 series.

1^e Livraison, 1859, Esclavage au Canada. 64 p.

2^e Livraison, 1859, Famille Lauzon. 58 p.

3^e Livraison, Ordonnance de Maisonneuve. 33 p.

4^e Livraison, 1868, Histoire de Montréal. 272 p.

5^e Livraison, 1870, Régime Militaire. 328 p.

6^e Livraison, 1875, Dollier et Gallinée, voyage. 84 p.

7^e Livraison, 1880, Peter Kalm, traduit par Marchand. 168 p.

8^e Livraison, 1880, Peter Kalm, 2 vol., traduit par Marchand. 256 p.

9^e Livraison, 1880, Les Véritables Motifs des Messieurs et Dames. 94 p.

² Historical documents published by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, since its foundation up to 1887. First series:

1. Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. VII. et 211 p. in-8, Québec, 1838. Ré-imprimés en 1873.

Ce mémoire a pour deuxième titre: "Mémoires du S— de C—, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." Il fut communiqué à la Société Littéraire et Historique par M. le colonel Christie. L'introduction donne à entendre que l'auteur du manuscrit pourrait être M. de Vaublanc, officier de marine en 1759.

2. Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics, en France. (8 mémoires reliés en 1 vol. (papier), in-8, Québec, 1840).

1. Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon. 7 p.

2. Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart. 14 p.

3. Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758). 29 p.

4. Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont. 36 p.

It became urgent for the French Canadians to make known what the laws, decisions and sentences had been. Moreover, the decisions rendered by the military tribunals, which had governed the country from 1759 to 1763, were likely to have innovated in certain judicial matters. Irregularities doubtless had occurred, and the new constitution granted by the Quebec Act, in 1774, as well as other causes, had created uncertainty on some legal points; this made it of paramount importance for all parties to know how they stood.

Such the origin of the commission or committee named by His Excellency, Lord Dorchester, on the 27th December, 1786, composed of Judge Adam Mabane and Messrs. Dunn and de Léry at Quebec, and of the members of the council at Montreal, with instructions to report to the governor without delay, the actual state and condition of the old registers and records of the province of Quebec; where they were stored, etc. On the 19th June, 1788, the committee was further directed to report as to the contents of every volume, the period it covered, the number of its pages, its contents and markings, its present condition, its authenticity, the public office to which it belonged, where it was deposited, and on every other point which might affect matters previous to the conquest.

The report, seven hundred copies of which were printed in 1791, in

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5. Relation du Siège de Québec en 1759, par une religieuse de l'Hôpital Général de Québec. 24 p.
 6. Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne en Canada en 1759. 8 p.
 7. Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada, 8 p.
 8. Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada. 29 p.
 3. Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval. Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, etc. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques-Cartier en 1535-36 (avec gravures *fac-similé*). Ré-imprimé sur d'anciennes relations. 130 p. in-8, papier, Québec, 1843.
 4. Mémoire du Sieur de Ramsay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville le 18 septembre 1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives du bureau de la Marine, à Paris. 84 et 38 p. in-8, Québec, 1861. (Dû à M. Geo. B. Faribault.) papier. Historical Documents, 2nd series. 8-vo., paper.
 - Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the Siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser. 37 p. in-8.
 - The Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58, attributed to Chevalier Johnstone. 28 p., 8 vo., Quebec, 1867.
 - A Dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759 in Canada. 55 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866. Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.
 - The campaign of 1760 in Canada. 24 p., 8-vo. A narrative attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.
 - The invasion of Canada in 1775. Letter attributed to Major Henry Caldwell.—1776. 19 p., 8-vo., published at Quebec, 1866.
 - A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, republished from the New York Mercury of 31st December, 1759. 19 p., 8-vo.

English and in French, at the office of Neilson's old *Quebec Gazette*, is at present a rare and valued document.

This inventory showed that several important records therein mentioned were missing. If not irretrievably lost, their absence from the shelves of the public office, which at one time had owned them, was established.

I can recall visiting in my youth the damp, subterranean vaults of the old parliament house at Quebec (since destroyed by fire) and being struck by the prodigious mass of documents, bound and unbound folios, parchments and registers stored there. Some, however, were destined to escape the corroding tooth of time and decay, and one of the most zealous presidents of the Literary and Historical Society at Quebec, the late George B. Faribault had succeeded in inducing the society to have them transcribed. Others were removed to the dark cells of the Quebec court house, whilst many perished in the great fires that ravaged the city. The major part, however, one is happy to say, were safely stored, after Confederation, in the fireproof rooms of the provincial registrar in the new legislative building at Quebec.

Several friends of progress, since that period, the first prime-minister of the province, Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Hon. Gédéon Ouimet, later on the Hons. Jean Blanchet and C. E. A. Gagnon, provincial secretaries,

Historical documents, 3rd series. Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society. 1 vol., cloth 8-vo., Quebec and Montreal, 1871. Contents: *Histoire de Montréal, 1640-1672.* 128 p., 8-vo. *Ouvrage attribué à M. F. Dollier de Casson, S. S.*

Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine, lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-76, par M. J. B. Badeaux. 43 p., in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant des anglais que des iroquois, depuis l'année 1682. 82 p., in-8, Québec, 1871.

Voyage d'Iberville. Journal du Voyage fait par deux frégates du roi, la Badine et le Marin, 1698. 48 p., in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1759-60, by General Jas. Murray. 45 p., in-8, Quebec, 1871.

Historical Documents, 4th series. 1 vol., 8-vo., paper, 1875.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 21 p.

General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 56 p. (Original in the hands of J. M. LeMoine.)

Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par Jean Claude Panet. 31 p.

Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Finlay, Postmaster-General. 25 p.

Historical Documents, 5th series. 1 vol., 8-vo., 152 p., Quebec, 1877. Containing documents relating to the war of 1812.

Historical Documents, 6th series. 1 vol., 8-vo.

Tabular statement of arrivals from sea at Quebec, during the navigation season of 1793, showing dates of sailing and arrival, nature of cargo, names of ships, masters, owners, &c., extracted from the registers of the Quebec Exchange and contributed for publication in the archives of the Literary and Historical Society, by MacPherson LeMoine, Seigneur of Crane Island, Montmagny, province of Quebec.

urged on by historical societies and by ardent students of Canadian history, Francis Parkman, George Baby, Abbés Verreau, Bois, Tanguay, Casgrain and others, succeeded in inducing the legislature to vote funds to print several voluminous series of these documents in 1883 and in following years, nor ought one omit recording the hearty co-operation of the late Dr. T. B. Aikins, of Nova Scotia.

A powerful impulse had been given to the collection of public archives in this province, by the creation at Ottawa in 1872, of the archives office, an annex to the department of agriculture, in which our colleague, Mr. Douglas Brymner, has won golden opinions.

Any one conversant with the neglected state of our archives in the past, will readily admit that the era of collecting and preservation was not commenced one day too soon, though matters in this respect were not so bad in Canada as they were, until lately, in England.

Mr. Brymner, after mentioning the early legislation in England to inquire into the state of public records and to devise means to preserve them, in the reign of Edward III. (1473), in Queen Elizabeth's time (1559-1603), under James VI. (1617), George III. (1760-1820), William IV., in 1837, notes a striking contrast between the dreadful state of neglect of the English archives and those of Scotland. The records of the Queen's Remembrancer, says he, it was discovered were stuffed into 600 sacks in a most filthy state, and to disinter a document known to exist somewhere in these heaps, was a work of a most disgusting nature. The report of the committee of the House of Commons of 1836, gives the evidence of Mr. Henry Cole as to the state of the King's mews containing these records. He says: "In these sheds 4,136 cubic feet of national records were deposited in the most neglected condition. Besides the accumulated dust of centuries, all, when those operations commenced, were found to be very damp. Some were in a state of inseparable adhesion to the stone walls.

"There were numerous fragments which had only just escaped entire consumption by vermin and many were in the last stage of putrefaction. Decay and damp had rendered a large quantity so fragile as hardly to admit of being touched; others, particularly those in the form of rolls, were so coagulated together that they could not be unrolled. Six or seven perfect skeletons of rats were found imbedded, and bones of these vermin were generally distributed throughout the mass; and besides furnishing a charnel house for the dead, during the first removal of those national records, a dog was employed in hunting the live rats which were thus disturbed from their nests."¹

The only exception to the "shocking state" of the documents is in the case of Scotland, of the record office of which the committee spoke in

¹ Report of Dominion archivist, 1881. p. 6.

these terms : "Collected together, in one central, ample, commodious and safe building in Edinburgh, placed under the custody of most competent and responsible keepers, they appear to be kept in a state of perfect arrangement and ample information supplied by full calendars and indexes."

The systematic arrangement of records, the facility of access thereto, the ample information as to contents supplied by full calendars and indexes, outlined in old Embro, one is happy to find, has guided the canny hand of her industrious son, Douglas Brymner, in the formation of our own public record office at Ottawa.

It has been previously stated that the Historical Society of Montreal, and her older sister, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, had repeatedly urged on successive administrations the propriety of collecting, preserving and publishing documents of an important historical character. Both associations deserve a good word, but the share of the Quebec institution in this progressive work, ever since its foundation, on the 6th January, 1824, by the Earl of Dalhousie, then governor-general of Canada, is so marked as to warrant special notice. In a circular given to the public the purposes of the society were thus declared : "To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time, the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve, whilst in its power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories, and which may prove important to general history and to the particular history of the province."

A glance at its Transactions and publications will show that it has not been recreant to its trust.

The origin of the archives office at Ottawa dates back, as previously stated, to the year 1872 ; it was the outcome of the petition presented to parliament in 1871, setting forth that authors and literary inquirers were placed in a very disadvantageous position in Canada, in comparison with persons of the same class in Great Britain, France and the United States, in consequence of being practically debarred from facilities of access to the public records, documents and official papers in manuscript, illustrative of the history and progress of society in Canada, and praying that steps be taken to have the archives of Canada collected. Parliament then voted a sum for the purpose of making preliminary inquiry into the subject. Further sums have been voted from year to year.

Mr. Douglas Brymner was charged to inquire into the state of the archives in the several provinces of the Dominion.

His voluminous report to the head of his department sums up the whole case so ably, that I cannot do better than quote a portion of it.

"I visited," says he, "Toronto, Montreal and Quebec (the two latter cities more than once), Halifax, St. John and Fredericton . . . I consider it desirable to call attention to the manner in which the records and official documents are kept. In Montreal, the vaults under the old

government court house are unfit for the purpose to which they are applied. The air is damp and foul, so that it is dangerous to the health to remain in them beyond a very limited time. Many of these are of much historical value; some of them could not be replaced."

"The complaint as to the dampness of the vaults in Montreal, applies also to those under the court house at Quebec."

It may be well to state that these complaints have since been effectually removed. He continues:

"In Halifax the documents in the province building are stored in a room which is not fireproof; otherwise they are well kept and in good order."

"In 1857, on motion of the Hon. Joseph Howe, an examination of the ancient records and documents illustrative of the history and progress of society in Nova Scotia, was ordered to be made. In 1864, upwards of 200 volumes of manuscripts had been selected, arranged, catalogued and bound, and in 1865, the legislative assembly referred the matter to a committee."

It would take me far beyond the bounds to which space limits me, were I to attempt a full history of the Dominion archives since their origin. Those curious of entering deeper into the subject have ample verge and material to consult in the fifteen reports submitted on this matter to the legislature since 1872 by Mr. Brymner, by the learned Abbé Verreau in 1874, and by Mr. Joseph Marmette (Alas, no more!)

1873.—The report for this year includes an account of the Dominion archivist's visit to London, and of the records and despatches stored in the British Museum, the British public record office, the Tower of London, the war office, the office of the secretary of state, on war, fisheries, commerce, emigration, etc.

With respect to the documents stored at Montreal, he adds: "There is a collection of statutes, in French and in English, which I would respectfully recommend should be distributed to public libraries and literary institutions. They are chiefly the old 'Acts and Ordinances' and 'Edits et Ordonnances,' reference to which is frequently desired."

The legislative assembly of Halifax referred the subject of archives to a committee, who recommended the publication of a volume of public documents, to be selected by the commissioner of public records, Dr. T. B. Aikins. That gentleman had the volume published in 1869, containing:

1. Documents relating to the Acadian French inhabitants and their removal from Nova Scotia in 1755.
2. On the encroachments of the French authorities of Canada on the territories of Nova Scotia.

3. On the siege of Fort Beauséjour in 1755 and the war on the continent terminated by the cession of Canada.
4. Papers connected with the settlement of Halifax in 1749 and the first British colonization of the province.
5. The official correspondence preparatory to the establishment of a representative form of government in 1758.

The records in possession of the military authorities at Halifax are voluminous. The earliest date is 1779, and they are continued to the present day. "General Sir Hastings Doyle," says Mr. Brymner, "gave instructions that I should have access to the papers, and Major Robertson, military secretary, saw that every facility was afforded to me to have them examined." On permission being subsequently asked from the imperial government to have this valuable collection of documents removed to Ottawa, it was granted.

Mr. Brymner's visit to St. John, N.B., in quest of old documents was not so successful.

His mission to Quebec, to wit, to examine the documents of the Quebec seminary, proved satisfactory. Mr. Brymner closes his report for 1872, with an expression of thanks to Rev. Messire Tanguay, in charge of the records, and also to the Rev. Abbé Laverdière, librarian of Laval University, for the facilities afforded the archivist in his laborious quest.

1874.—The report of the Rev. Mr. Verreau, deputed to London and Paris in 1874, throws much valuable light on documents relating to Canadian history stored in European cities. This gentleman dived into the records of the British museum, examined the Seignier collection, Harleian manuscripts, the voluminous Haldimand collection, manuscripts of George III., English state archives, the Quebec correspondence comprised in twelve volumes, containing a mass of curious and unpublished details, some bearing on Montcalm's last letters and on the chequered career of the notorious ex-Jesuit, Pierre Roubaud, in Canada and in England; the valuable collection of fifty-six volumes, entitled "Dorchester Papers." They had been presented by Mr. M. Morgan Castelow, secretary to Mr. John Seymour, who bequeathed them to the Royal Institution in 1804.

Mr. Verreau then crossed over to France, visiting the extensive archives of Lille. At Brussels, he found at the "Archives du Royaume," a volume entitled "Missions d'Amérique," containing several autograph letters, one on Canada; searching successfully for material, at the "Bibliothèque Royale," etc., there also he picked up precious information relative to a large number of French officers, who had emigrated from Canada at the time of the conquest.

At Liège and at Metz, the archaeologist found in the public libraries a few works relating to Canada.

The "Bibliothèque Nationale" in Paris, which is consulted by the learned men of every country, offered the Canadian delegate a rich mine

for research, as well as the "Archives Nationales" and the *Département de la marine*. Here occur the most important and most numerous documents bearing on the territories comprised under the name of Nouvelle-France. p. 193.

At the department of foreign affairs, under the heading "Americana," in volumes i., ii., iii., iv., are found public documents of paramount interest on Canada and Acadia as early as 1629.

There also occur, marked "England," "Rome," "St. Petersburg," manuscript volumes deeply interesting to the student of Canadian history.

1881.—Among the topics alluded to by the archivist in his report for this year, may be noted various documents on Newfoundland; on the protection of its fisheries from the inroads of the French, 1696-97; on the trade of the colony, 1705-6; on the number of vessels trading, with particulars of the annoyances and hindrances the French caused to trade. A list of the chief harbours is also given, and we find a mention of "Whiteburne's discourse on Canada," also of a vocabulary of the language of the Newfoundland Indians; a general description of the province of Nova Scotia, and a report on the state of its defences by Lieut.-Col. Moore in 1783; plans of different forts; the journal of Sir Hovenden Walker's unsuccessful attempt on Quebec in 1711.

1882.—One of the subjects to which Mr. Brymner draws attention that year, is the urgency of enlarged space for the archives rooms, in order to classify and arrange separately, for the eight provinces constituting the Dominion of Canada, the rapidly accumulating papers referring to each.

"If," says he, "lists of records of the different provinces in the possession of their respective governments were procured, they would be of the greatest use in proceeding with the work of this branch, and would assist very materially in furnishing information to historical investigators, who not unfrequently make inquiries as to the existence and plans of deposit of papers which they desire to consult."

We are next reminded by him of the wise policy of having one general collection of historical documents at the seat of the federal government, and one special at each province in its provincial capital.

"The possession of records in duplicate is a guarantee, to a large extent, of their preservation from destruction by fire; experience has shown the risk from this cause."

An ample calendar follows, of letters and papers on the siege operations at Quebec in 1759; plans of forts, custom house laws and proceedings, commerce.

1883.—Two interesting reports on archives were submitted to parliament this year; one from Mr. Brymner and one from Mr. Marmette. This gentleman duly accredited by Lord Granville through the English ambassador, Lord Lyons, to the French government, congratulates himself

on the facilities afforded him to examine the archives branch of the ministry of foreign affairs and the "Bibliothèque Mazarine." The papers, plans, maps and documents stored in these various offices, cover the whole French period, 1603-1759, and throw light on many obscure points in our history.

Mr. Brymner, after relating the preliminary steps in 1871 in our parliament, which led to the organization of our archives office, says that the first important contribution to it was made by the war office, which, after some negotiations conducted by him when in London in 1873, consented to transfer the Canadian military correspondence, going back nearly one hundred years, which was packed up in Halifax ready for transmission to London. These papers numbered upwards of 200,000 documents of various sizes, shapes and contents.

They are now in Ottawa, bound in 1,087 volumes. It was, of course, necessary for him to go through a deal of red-tapeism before obtaining leave to have access to and to transcribe several important state papers, as he was restricted to extend his search to documents printed prior to 1842. The report, calendar and index, are replete with useful information.

I shall, however, make room for a few extracts from a striking letter addressed to Mr. Taylor, London, by T. Frederick Elliott, a nephew of Lord Minto, secretary of the Gosford commission, sent out to report on Canadian grievances in 1835, bearing date, Quebec, 24th October, 1835. This letter is mentioned thus in the Greville memoirs, vol. iii., p. 125: "I have just seen an excellent letter from Frederick Elliott to Taylor, with a description of parties and politics in Lower Canada, which has been shown to the ministers, who think it the ablest *exposé* on those heads that has been transmitted to them." Lord Howick tells us he hopes this clever letter would be shown to Lord Glenelg, to Lord Melbourne and to the king. Mr. Elliott disposes of the opinion prevalent in some quarters to this day, that the insurrection in Lower Canada in 1837 was a mere question of race, French *versus* English; whereas, far from being a mere rising confined to the French element, it had had for its most strenuous leaders and organizers, men of quite another race than the French; such as Drs. Wolfred Nelson, Robert Nelson; Scott, Tracy, T. S. Brown, O'Callaghan, Girard, Hindelang, Samuel Newcome, ¹ B. Mott. The intolerable abuses of the period, the oppressive colonial misrule of the oligarchy, so unsparingly criticised by Lord Durham, such are the primary causes of discontent.

MR. ELLIOTT'S LETTER.

"Quebec, 24th Oct., 1835.

"MY DEAR TAYLOR,—People have been accustomed in England to hear of only two parties in Canada, the English and the French, but there

¹ Samuel Newcome and Bery Mott formed part of the fifty-eight political prisoners transported in 1839 to New South Wales, and who returned after spending five years and four months in exile.

are in fact three parties, the official, the English and the French, besides some important French classes altogether distinct from the party which goes by that name.

"The official, or as the French term it, Bureaucratic party, is composed of a few old men holding the highest offices. They seem to be fond of privilege, jealous of interference, and ready to hold office at any inquiry into the popular allegations. Most of them are dull, and those who are the reverse are said to be interested. It is of very little consequence what they are. Whatever influence they may have formerly exercised through the instrumentality of weak governors, they are now destitute of any of the real elements of power, having neither connections at home (England) nor weight in the province. If there be a body in the world, which may, without fear, be handled according to its merits, that is the high official party of Canada. In the province itself it is very difficult to say by which great divisions of the people it is detested the most. Very different from this feeble corps is the real 'English party.' It is composed of almost all the merchants, with an admixture of considerable landholders, and of some of the younger and more intelligent civil officers. It possesses much wealth and still more credit, and in addition to these it has all that mutual confidence and that precision and unity of purpose, which, to do our countrymen justice, they know better than any other people how to confer on political associations. This imposing body, moreover, has great advantage at the present moment in the moderation of tone which it can assume in contrast to the violence of its adversaries, thus gaining the good-will, if not the overt support, of the numerous portion of society which prefers security and a tranquil life to everything else. Yet I do not like the English party. It is fully as ambitious of dominion as the French party, and in my opinion, prepared to seek it by more unscrupulous means. Whenever either of the two at the present moment speaks of separation, I look upon it as a mere bombast or artifice to bend the course of government, but, depend upon it that if ever these heats in Lower Canada should go so far as to hazard the connection with the mother-country, the English will be the foremost to cut the tie. They, of the two parties, are by far the best disposed to sympathize with republican institutions.

"They are the most rancorous, for they remember the power they have lost, and hate their rivals as a sort of usurpers."

How singularly this letter written sixty years ago reads, especially when one recalls the memorable utterance of the late Sir E. P. Taché, A.D.C. to the queen. "The last gun fired on Canadian soil in favour of England will be by a French Canadian." Other bits of information, as new as the last, and curious as subjects for reflection, occur in Mr. Elliott's second letter to Mr. Taylor, dated "Quebec, 12th November, 1835."

Afterling to the opening of the session and to the doubt whether,

in voting the arrears of the last two years, the assembly would include repayment of the sum of £31,000, advanced to the civil servants out of the military chest, Mr. Elliott adds: "If Mr. Spring Rice himself had been there he could not have wished to hear more home truths than I delivered on the subject to two or three French members with whom I dined *en petit comité*, among whom was the editor of *Le Canadien* newspaper.

"It is astonishing how this country has been mismanaged. When I came to know the men whom the military rulers here have been accustomed to regard as little better than traitors and little wiser than children, I am surprised to find:

"1. On what friendly bases their views generally are founded, and,

"2. How much superior are their perceptions in political science to those of the men by whom they have been so arrogantly despised."

How strange Mr. Elliott's strictures seem to us in the present day, and how could a full and impartial record of the past be indited without referring to these dry-as-dust documents of another age?

Mr Elliott's letters are followed with one addressed by the Hon. A. N. Morin to Sir Francis Hincks, dated at Quebec, 8th May, 1841, replete with politic and patriotic utterances, in which he comments on an expression of Lord Durham on the political events of the period. This clever and proud statesman is alleged to have said, through the mouth of one of his *attachés*, "That they (the oligarchy) had done enough to drive the people w' into the woods." (p. 172 of Archivist's report for 1883.)

18. —It may be interesting to note the names, rank and land grants of the distinguished French *émigrés* in the township of Markam and in other localities round Toronto. These French loyalists, several titled men among them, after escaping the guillotine in France, had applied to the British government for land in Canada. Their names appear in the military correspondence as follows:

Count de Puisaye obtains	850 acres.
" de Chalus, maréchal de camp, colonel.....	550 "
M. d'Allègre, major-general of the district de Vannes, colonel.....	450 "
M. de Marseuil, major-general of division, lieutenant-colonel.....	300 "
Viscount de Chalus, adjudant-general, colonel.....	350 "
M. Quetton de St. George, major of division, lieutenant-colonel....	400 "
M. de Tracy, aide-de-camp, capitaine.....	350 "
M. Renault, capitaine, without commission.....	150 "
M. Séjéant, lieutenant.....	150 "
Fouchard, Furose, Langevin, Bugle, Marchand, non-commissioned officers and soldiers.....	500 "

M. Renault was besides recommended for a grant of 1,200 acres and M. Séjéant for a grant of 500 acres.

So far as can be ascertained one family only, that of M. Quetton de St. George, is now represented in western Canada.

The report for this year mentions among the acquisitions to the archives, the volumes presented by the right honourable the master of

the rolls in England, the papers of Dr. John Rolph, bearing on the rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837-8; also the letters of Mr. Robert Baldwin, Sir Francis Hincks, David Gibson, William Lyon Mackenzie, likewise original documents and copies received from Detroit, Cornwall, Windsor, Sandwich, respecting the early occupation of those districts. We are also informed that copies are being made in Rome of documents, till then inaccessible, Archbishop Taschereau having, by the good offices of the historian of Montcalm and Levis, Abbé H. R. Casgrain, undertaken to have them transcribed from the archives of the Gesu and the Propaganda in Rome—a veritable windfall for historical investigators. A curious letter is also given from Charles I. to Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador to France, respecting the rendition of Quebec and Acadia, dated 12th June, 1631.

1885.—Through the researches of Messrs. Brymner and Marmette in London and Paris, important additions were made to our archives this year—documents relating to events preceding or immediately succeeding the establishment of civil government. We note the first murmurs of discontent in the New England colonies; the conduct of the Canadians, both the old and the new subjects, during the war of the revolution; the difficulties which beset Carleton in his government; the bitter hostility of Lord Germaine to the "Saviour of Canada"; the conduct of the war, including Burgoyne's operations; the re-establishment of peace; Colonel Moore's (R.E.) report in 1784; the boundary discussion between Nova Scotia and the easternmost of the United States; Colonel Gotter Mann's observations thereon; the notorious career and perfidious machinations of Pierre Antoine Roubaud in Canada and in England; the alleged fabrication by the latter of Montcalm's prophetic letter of 24th August, 1759; Francis Parkman's opinion of this clever rascal; Du Calvet's connection with Roubaud. (p. xiii., 1885.) Another valuable source of information is described in the *Actes de Foye et Hommage*, the fealty rolls, 1667-68-74, setting forth the origin of the old *Seigniories*, &c.

1886.—The report, calendar and appendix of the archivist and his assistant, Mr. Marmette, for 1886, embraces 850 pages. It opens with the proposal of Samuel Waldo for the reduction of Louisbourg in 1758, followed by his plan for settling Nova Scotia.

Mr. Marmette, from Paris, mentions the continuation of his labours, in transcribing documents relating to the history of Canada and Acadia in the "Archives Coloniales," as well as those which the late Mr. George B. Faribault had not had time to copy when he visited Paris in 1851, some 68 volumes, leaving yet for future examination 400 volumes and *cartons*, exclusive of the "Correspondance Générale." All this goes to prove that the office of our archivist, at home or abroad, was not a sinecure.

The journal of Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, made accessible for the first

time to the English reader, sheds light upon the expedition made by him and Marin for the discovery of a western sea.

In 1755, he, with a party of Indians, formed part of Dieskau's expedition to Lake George, where he was killed whilst Dieskau was trying to draw the British forces into an ambushade.

New details follow on the campaign of 1759-60, in General Haldimand's correspondence and that of his secretaries, 1762-91: the rivalry between the Hudson Bay Company, chartered in London in 1670, and our Northwest Company, founded in 1783-84, by Montreal merchants, modified in 1798 and partly re-constructed under the name of the X Y Company by partners who had broken from the Northwest Company. The rivalry culminated, in 1816, at Assiniboia by the murder of the governor, Mr. Semple, under the cannons of the fort.

The correspondence of the period shows that in 1797-98, the Northwest Company had built a canal on the Canadian side of Sault Sainte Marie, one of the finest canals constructed on this continent.

The early canals, erroneously described as French works, were opened under English rule, as results from Bougainville's "*Mémoires sur l'état de la Nouvelle France*," 1757. No canal then existed at the Cascades. Colonel Gotther Mann, R.E., in his report on the state of the canals, dated 24th October, 1800, says they were first built between 1779 and 1783, and recommends their enlargement.

"Much of the interest in the history of these canals lies in the fact that they were the germ of the vast canal system now in existence."

The names of Lord Selkirk, Sir John Johnson, Baby, Franchère, Mabane, Ennys, Frobisher, occur repeatedly in this extensive collection of letters.

1887.—Much needed light has been thrown by the copying of the voluminous correspondence of General Haldimand, a distinguished soldier of Swiss extraction and an able administrator, charged with watching over the destinies of Canada in peculiarly troublous times.

There are few of our governors whose official acts have been more misrepresented and motives unjustly ignored or challenged by our historians.

Haldimand was born at Yverdon in Switzerland. In 1756, he was commandant at Philadelphia, and served with distinction during the seven years' war.

On the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, he was appointed to the command of the town, which he retained until he was sent to Three Rivers, in June, 1762, where he acted as *locum tenens* for Ralph Burton. The latter had been sent to take part in the reduction of Havana, whilst James Murray was governor of Quebec, Gage of Montreal, Lord Amherst being governor-general.

In 1767, we find Haldimand in charge of east and west Florida. In 1773, he was in military command of east and west Florida. In 1773, he was military commander at New York. Stationed in Boston in 1775, he leaves that year for London, from whence he is sent as inspector-general of the forces in the West Indies. On the 30th June, 1778, he landed at Quebec, succeeding Guy Carleton as governor-general of Canada, where both had served in 1759. His administration lasted until 1784, marked all through by firmness, administrative ability, during a most trying period.

On his return to England in 1784, he was assailed by Pierre Du Calvet, a Huguenot and a trader of Montreal, and sued for false imprisonment, though the British government stepped in and held him harmless against the machinations of his merciless persecutor.

Du Calvet was nothing but a traitor in disguise, of whose guilt, Haldimand, when governor at Quebec, had ample proof. He had escaped with a few years of imprisonment in the Récollet convent at Quebec and on board of the war vessel "Canceaux." Some think his proper place ought to have been on a gibbet, as a warning to disloyalty.

1888.—The correspondence and papers acquired by our archives office this year were of no ordinary importance; in fact, indispensable to whoever wishes to write or study the history of the dependency. The last volumes of the Haldimand collection, consisting of 233 volumes, with Col. Bouquet's collection of thirty volumes, were deposited in Ottawa; both cover interesting periods of Canadian history. "There are no other copies of these collections on this continent, adds Dr. Brymner, and their existence here has led to a very considerable amount of correspondence. The correspondence is steadily increasing, and the demand for the annual reports, not only from learned societies, libraries and individuals on this continent, but from various other points of the world, show the interest that is taken in the work in progress. An examination of the list of works presented will show that these come not only from Canada, but from many states in the American union, &c." A glance at the table of contents will suffice to justify the statements of the archivist on this point. I subjoin the leading ones:

The Walker Outrage at Montreal, 1764.

Memorial by the Prisoners, with accompanying documents.

Report of Chief Justice Hay.

List of the Grand Jury.

General Murray's Recall.

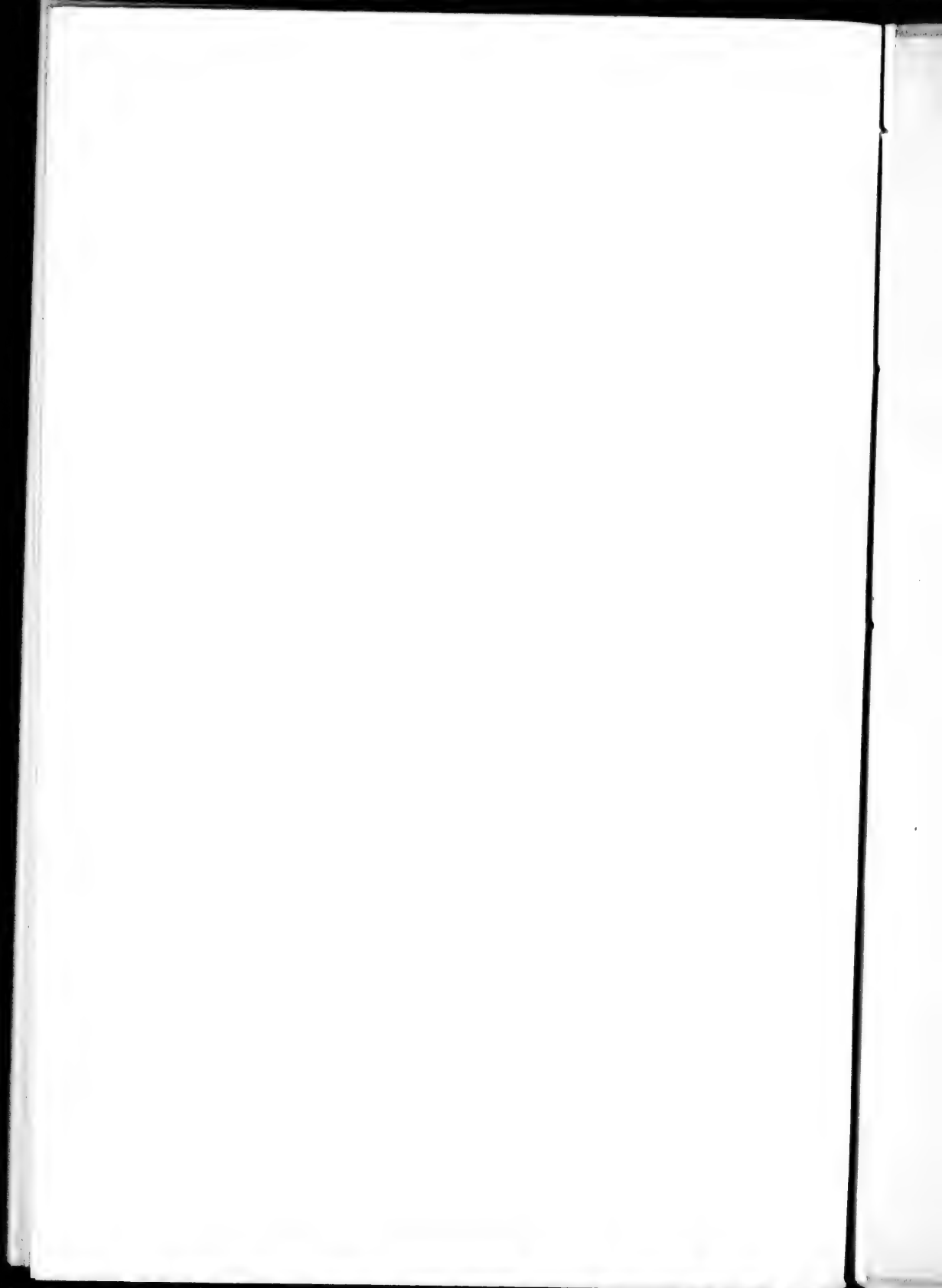
Petition of the Quebec Traders.

Petition of the London Merchants.

The *Seigneurs* of Quebec to the King.

The French *Noblesse* in Canada after 1760.

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord Shelburne.



Memorial of the Chevalier de Léry.

A General State of the French *Noblesse*, actually resident in the Province of Quebec or in the French service, and where resident in November, 1767.

Canadian officers in actual service in France, whose parents have remained in Canada.

Pierre Du Calvet. Reply by Father de Berry to the calumnies of Pierre Du Calvet against the *Récollets* of Quebec.

The Northwest Trade.

Report from Charles Grant to General Haldimand on the Fur Trade. Petition from the Northwest Traders.

Benjamin Frobisher to Dr. Mabane.

Order to Captain Robertson to report on Lake Superior for a Post. Captain Robertson's Journal.

General Haldimand to Lieutenant-Governor Hay.

The French Royalists in Upper Canada.

Sketch of an establishment to be founded in Canada for the settlement of the French emigrants.

Duke of Portland to President Russell.

List of French Royalists gone from London with Count Joseph de Puisaye for Canada.

Haldimand Collection, covering a vast number of colonial matters; statistics of the trade of Quebec, 1768-83; correspondence with Major Nicholas Cox, lieutenant-governor of Gaspé, 1774-86; letters of Chief Justice Livius, 1777-84.

Papers relating to Pierre Du Calvet, 1776-86.

Papers relating to Pierre Roubaud, 1771-87.

Papers relating to the case of Joseph Despin, 1778.

Papers relating to the cartel sloop "Sally," 1778-81.

The documents deposited in the archives office contain among other damning evidence of the traitorous designs of the disaffected citizens during the invasion of 1775, a list of persons from England, Scotland, Ireland, America, France, acting on behalf of the invaders, and who "fled upon the latter leaving."—John and Asklan Bondfield, John Welles, Thomas Walker, Edmond Antill, Major Moses Hazen (who had served under Wolfe) Pelissier, John Blake, Price, Heywood and others.

Pierre Du Calvet, the agitator had held a commission as ensign, under Moses Hazen as appears by his receipt for pay, discovered among Lt.-Col. Antill's papers, at Holland House, Quebec. Congress compensated him for his losses in 1786, paying him half of his claim, when he boasted that he was the only creditor Congress had paid. This unconvinced traitor escaped the halter or drumhead court martial.

1889.—The archivist's report for this year sets forth among other documents and memoirs copied or acquired for the Ottawa Public

Record Office, various papers on the Northwestern Explorations; the journal of the famous explorer La Verendrye, 1738-39; Capt. Holland's plan to explore from Quebec; religious, educational and other statistics; summary of the Census of Canada, 1784; list of parishes, &c., of the diocese of Quebec; census of clergy; return of Indians; the Vermont negotiations; statement by Mr. Jarvis; Col. Bouquet to General Amherst; General Amherst to Col. Bouquet; Bouquet's proclamation against settling, 1761; Bouquet's proclamation with regard to Indian lands; letter-book of Col. Bouquet, 1757-58; correspondence with General Amherst, 1759-63; correspondence with General Washington; inventory of the effects of the late Brigadier-General Bouquet, 1765; statement of militia; ecclesiastical state of Canada; Levi Allen to Governor Simcoe; the Bouquet papers; the reservation of Indian lands.

"Col. Bouquet was a native of Switzerland, and served in the Dutch and Sardinian armies. He and Haldimand were in 1754, selected to raise men for the 'Royal Americans,' a corps intended for the British service in America, the officers of which were to be either American or foreign Protestants: this corps was afterwards known as the 60th Rifles. Bouquet was actively employed in America during the last years of the war between France and Britain and held a leading command in the contest with the Indians, including the period of the Pontiac war. He died in Pensacola, western Florida, some time previous to the 4th September, 1765."

Bouquet was a thorough soldier, well trained, possessed of considerable ability.

1890.—A rich mine of information to students of history is revealed by the publication of the archivist's report this year. The position of General James Murray, the first governor of Quebec, appears to be anything but enviable, placed as he is between carrying out the paternal instructions of the king towards his new subjects the French Canadians, and the hostile feeling existing towards them, by the rude and ignorant class of settlers he describes, calling themselves the king's old subjects. The administration of justice; the constitutional act of 1791; Northwest explorations; relations with the United States after the peace of 1783: such are the leading subjects in this report.

The claim set up by Lord Amherst to the Jesuits estates is discussed, as well as Col. Morse's report of 1783, who expressed the opinion that by the union of the maritime provinces with Canada, "a great country might be raised up, with a general government, having its seat in the island of Cape Breton." The reasons for disfavour urged by the neighbouring colonies against the Quebec act of 1774, sound strange in the present day. New England was in arms against old England for legislation recognizing the Roman Catholic religion, "a religion, they said, which had flooded with blood and had spread hypocrisy, persecution, murder and revolt into all parts of the world."

The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia styled it "a bill for establishing popery and arbitrary power in Quebec."

Such declarations the colonies found it difficult to explain, when in 1775, they tried to secure the French Canadians as their allies against Great Britain.

The correspondence between Lt.-Col. By, R.E., General Gother Mann, R.E., and Sir Carmichael Smith, throws a flood of light on the works undertaken on the Rideau canal.

1891.—The calendar and appendix of the archivist this year disclose a voluminous correspondence and stringent regulations of Governor Prescott and Governor Simcoe concerning the grants of waste lands of the Crown.

Among applicants for large tracts in Upper Canada, appears the name of the double-traitor Benedict Arnold; he urges great personal losses incurred and services rendered to the British cause.

He first modestly claims 20,000 acres in Upper Canada, upwards of thirty-one square miles, and in July, 1797, he applies to the king, by petition, for 50,000 for himself, his wife and seven children.

On the 17th May, 1794, the Council records a grant of 14,000 acres to Wm. Berzey, of York, Upper Canada, to settle there 2,000 settlers brought in by him.

The marriage laws of Upper Canada seem to have been in an unsettled state. Richard Cartwright, junior, reports on them.

We are next treated to a curious correspondence referring to the French Republican designs on Canada. War existed between England and France, in 1793; later on French armies were striking terror and reaping bloody laurels all over continental Europe.

French emissaries, it seems, were sent to the United States, to enter into correspondence with the French element in Lower Canada. The evidence produced at the trial of Alexander McLean, supposed to be in league with this movement is given, and allusions made to his tragic end, on the gallows, at Quebec in 1797.

1892.—Hon. Mr. Angers, Minister of Agriculture, submits this year the archivist's report to the legislature, "to wit, transcripts of the state papers for Lower Canada to 1825, a continuation of the administration of General Brock, and in addition those of Sir Peregrine Maitland as acting governors, Lord Dalhousie as governor-in-chief, Burton as president of the council and the resumption of office by Lord Dalhousie in September, 1825."

The papers during that period deal with matters of great interest; the proposed union in 1822 of the two provinces, with the arguments for and against the proposal, which, it is well known did not take effect till twenty years later; the report on grievances, the questions between Upper and Lower Canada respecting the re-union, and other subjects held at the time to be of vital importance.

"For Upper Canada transcripts have been received to 1829, covering the period of Sir Peregrine Maitland's administration and the beginning of Sir John Colborne's.

"To judge by the current histories of Upper Canada, the knowledge of the domestic politics of that province at the beginning of this century appears to be very limited, only a few vague generalities being given.

"It has, therefore, been thought desirable to publish at some length the correspondence during the administration of President Grant, and part of that of Lieutenant-Governor Gore. The leader of the opposition to the government, appears to have been Mr. Justice Thorpe, who is referred to in no laudatory terms in the histories of the province."

The sentiments expressed by this "hot, political partisan," his fiery attack on General Hunter and the comments of Chief Justice Allcock on his fiery colleague, afford quite a study in the present day.

In Lower Canada, Sir Robert Shore Milnes seems anxious to increase the crown revenues, from properties belonging to it, and advocates the extinction of the feudal tenure of lands.

There appears to have been a considerable amount of friction between Chief Justice Osgoode and the Lieutenant-Governor, the latter being supported by all the executive councillors.

A conversation between Monsgr. Plessis and Attorney-General Sewell, in which Queen Mary gets some hard hits, is published in this report.

1893.—The report for 1893, opens with a letter, dated 16th November, 1807, on Indian affairs, received by Sir John Johnson, from Herman Witrius Ryland, civil secretary to Sir James Henry Craig.

As this clever functionary's correspondence occupies considerable space in our colonial archives, a short sketch of his career may not be out of place.

Herman Witrius Ryland had landed in Quebec in 1795, as secretary to Lord Dorchester. His scholarly training, brilliant parts, general information and attachment to British institutions, as well as his social position, gave him the ear of every governor, (except Sir George Prevost) for close on twenty years.

It was during the stormy period of the war between England and the United States that the Hon. Mr. Ryland, with the advice of the able Chief Justice Sewell, was in reality entrusted with the helm of state.

As the historian Robert Christie observes, Ryland was considered the "Fountain Head of Power." Probably never was he more powerful than under the administration of Sir James H. Craig. His Excellency despatched him to England, charged with a public mission three fold in its scope, the ostensible object of which was, 1st, To get the Imperial Government to amend or suspend the constitution. 2nd, To render the government independent of the people by appropriating towards it the

revenues accruing from the estates of the Sulpicians of Montreal, and of the order of the Jesuits. 3rd, To seize the patronage exercised by the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, the *curés* or church livings in his diocese, contending that no Roman Catholic bishop really existed in Canada, (but merely a superintendent of *curés*) none having been recognized by the Crown.

It has been stated that he had a fair chance of succeeding on two points, had not the great Chancellor Lord Eldon intervened to thwart the scheme.

The correspondence exchanged between Mr. Ryland and his Excellency Sir James H. Craig, to be found in the sixth volume of Christie's "Parliamentary History of Canada," exhibits Mr. Ryland at his best. Withdrawn from public life, he expired at his country seat at Beauport, near Quebec, on the 29th July, 1838.

Sir James H. Craig, though he had served with credit in Canada during the invasion of 1775, was scarcely the administrator to be entrusted with the rule of the colony in such troublous times. His idea of governing seems to have savoured more of the military discipline of the camp; he failed to win the support of the discontented majority, making himself disliked by parliament, though seemingly inspired by the best intentions.

Among other matters referred to in his voluminous correspondence with the home government one subject was constantly uppermost in his mind, as early as 1807—a rupture close at hand between the United States and England, though it only actually occurred five years later, in 1812, after his departure for England. The obnoxious right of search at sea was the ostensible pretext, possibly not the real cause of the outbreak.

A split had taken place in the American congress; two hostile parties had sprung up, the federalists representing the New England states. They were opposed to war and agitated for neutrality in the event of hostilities, with the secret intention of seeking the protection of England. The other party, the democrats, apparently spoiling for a fight, thought the time propitious, when England, battling against coalesced Europe, led by the greatest captain of modern times, had her hands full at home.

The secret correspondence on this matter will repay perusal. One John Henry, of Montreal, seems to have made himself very officious, visiting Boston and the state of Vermont, collecting and conveying to Sir James H. Craig secret information about popular feeling in these centres during the period of disquietude and alarm in Canada consequent on the extraordinary triumphs of French arms in Europe.

One incident alluded to in his correspondence increased very much the dislike the French Canadians felt for the governor—the seizure, on his orders, by a military force, in 1808, of the printing press of *Le Canadien* newspaper and its forced sale at auction (Sir James became

himself the highest bidder), the arrest and incarceration of three distinguished members of parliament, Messrs. Taschereau, Bédard and Blanchet, one M. Borgia, an advocate, and Mr. Planté, all connected with *Le Canadien* as owners, printers or contributors.

But there were other topics less exciting than rumours of an impending war to engage the attention of Sir James.

Government had determined, among other projects, to encourage the growth of flax and hemp by subsidies. In connection with this industry, Louis Foy, storekeeper-general for the Quebec district, Mr. Green, for Montreal, and Mr. Campbell, for Three Rivers, had been appointed to control it. The experiment, however, met with indifferent success.

Amongst the documents collected occur several letters as to the best means to secure the good-will of the Indians near Detroit, Caughnawaga, the Two Mountains, etc., in the event of war; despatches concerning remittances to the Nova Scotia treasury and to Quebec touching fortifications in the latter place; increased barrack accommodation for soldiers, land grants to court favourites; pensions to the widows of distinguished colonists; the appointment of Chief Justice Sewell as successor of Chief Justice Allcock, deceased; the raising of the Glengarry fencibles and other provincial corps; the selection of new members for the legislative council; preparations for naval operations on the western lakes; the help that might be expected from the militia in case of war; the necessity for new regulations for this arm of the service; demands for ordnance stores, land grants to U. E. loyalists.

The Lower Canada documents occasionally exhibit a mass of subjects submitted for adjudication to the highest officers of the crown in England, now dealt with by parish councils, such as roads, bridges, markets, police, apprentices, constables, etc.

Lieutenant-Governor Gore's correspondence, 1807-10, with Lord Castlereagh discloses many minor incidents hitherto unknown anent the early times in Upper Canada—land grants, Indian stores, public appointments.

One lights again on "Observations on the Culture of Hemp and Propagation of the Warren Rabbit, etc., by a member of the Upper Canada Agricultural and Commercial Society;" a request for a pension by the widow of Capt. Joseph Brant, principal chief of the Mohawks, who died 27th November, 1807; the deserter Underhill shot, inquiry into the circumstances of the case; Col. Claus, an Upper Canada worthy.

On the 8th October, 1811, that great and good soldier General Isaac Brock, after serving six years in Quebec with his regiment, the 49th, appears on the scene in Upper Canada as acting governor. Boulton's release from a French prison; £5,000 appropriated to maintain the militia in readiness for the impending struggle with the United States. "Perfect reliance," says Brock, "can be placed on the loyalty of the original inhabitants and their descendants." And was he not right?

General Brock also proposes "that at the present juncture (1812) "the prince regent should be moved to give permission to place the family of every soldier, regular or militia, also every mariner on the lakes, who may be killed in the coming contest with the United States, upon the U. E. list, and to extend this advantage to every mariner and militiaman who may be maimed or disabled upon actual service."

We next are made acquainted with the proclamation of General Brock in answer to that of General Hull. Hostilities follow, and history completes the glorious record of victories won on Canadian soil, ending in the retreat of the invading foe.

But I must not trespass on your forbearance any longer, and shall bring my remarks to a close ; and if, laying aside the detached survey we have been making of the manuscript sources of our history, we should like to crowd in one canvas the brilliant outlines embracing the fruitful era of discovery, adventures, warfare, religious enthusiasm, which one of our most gifted viceroys, the late Earl of Elgin, styled "the heroic age of Canada," what would you find ? A succession of martial feats ; examples of individual bravery ; instances of extraordinary physical endurance at the call of duty ; deadly ambuscades surrounding the pioneers of a Canadian wilderness ; savage encounters by sea and by land of a most startling nature, when measured by the standards of to-day.

At one time, 'tis the intrepid, conscious sacrifice of zealous preachers of the gospel—in order to lift upwards into a higher life and cleanse debased humanity—men of prayer and pure mind, looking on death as the only earthly crown worthy of living for.

At another time, 'tis delicate, self-sacrificing maidens, some, of courtly nurture, bidding an everlasting adieu to the charmed circle of Parisian gaities, braving the tempests and perils of the deep, to cast their lot amidst the rude aborigines huddled round their new forest homes on the shores of our great lakes and rivers.

To-day, Indian savagery in its most hideous form is triumphant amid the corn and wheat fields of Lachine : the great massacre in August, 1689.

To-morrow, lion-hearted old Governor Frontenac, with fire and sword, will bring the barbarians to sue for peace on their knees, or warn with his big guns, from the gates of Quebec, the New England marauders.

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, the Cid of New France, will bear the triumphant flag of his country to the icy shores of Hudson's Bay.

La Verendrye, de Sales and Marquette will explore the Rocky Mountains and Mississippi, the father of the waters.

Dollard des Ormeaux, the Canadian Leonidas, will, after deep aforethought, by solemn covenant, pledge his life and the life of his sixteen brave followers, to thrust back the wave of Indian ferocity surging round Montreal.

No poet to sing, no annalist to chronicle the manly deed ; all the actors, save a Huron brave, perished—he it was who revealed the fact.

Is not our history also lighted up with the sweet, thoughtful faces of heroic women—noble exemplars to their sex—beacons from on high, illumining the rugged paths of struggling humanity: Madame de Champlain, the Lady Latour, Madeleine de Verchères, Laura Secord; nor is the race extinct.

I have striven to reveal to you Canadian history in its rude beginnings. You have also had occasion to note its austere and patriotic teachings.

Has your heart not also thrilled at its wild, seductive graces, when touched by the wand of that enchanter, Francis Parkman, our late lamented colleague?

With the wealth of material already garnered in our archives and daily added to, may we not count on it, at no distant future, as a stately fabric? Shall we compare it to an antique Grecian temple, with graceful portico and many ornate columns, on which posterity will inscribe among other respected names, those of Baron Masères, Wm. Smith, Robert Christie, Bibaud, Garneau, Ferland, Faillon, Turcotte, Sulte, Casgrain, Bourinot, Withrow, Hannay, Miles, Murdock, Watson, Dent, Brymner, Kingsford, Begg, Scadding, Ganong?

On the last day of the annual meeting, Their Excellencies entertained the members, the delegates of the Royal Society and many distinguished Ottawa citizens to a sumptuous lunch in the stately banquet hall at Government House.

After the usual loyal healths had been drank, His Excellency Lord Aberdeen, dwelled in glowing terms on the aims of the Society and the good work it had already performed and could continue to perform, closing with a gracious tribute to its President, J. M. LeMoine, to which the President replied as follows :

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"A pleasant, but a trying duty has just devolved upon me as the unworthy spokesman of the Royal Society of Canada. For the kind wishes and encouraging words just fallen from the lips of Your Excellency to our association, and for your too favorable remarks on myself, I return the cordial thanks of the Society and my own.

Each year, at the auspicious period of spring, with recurring heat and the return of the swallows, there takes place a pleasant incident ; pardon, I might safely say, an event which gladdens the hearts of our workers. The poet reaches out his hand for his lyre ; the student of history dives again and again among his dusty, old manuscripts ; the scientist ponders over a new problem of art or science ; the *litterateur* carefully reads over the essay or memoir, prepared during long, dreary winter evenings, to make sure that his right hand has not lost any of its literary cunning. Festive nature, in fact, that sweet inspiring time, which according to the poets—and I think the poets are right—causes the pulse, of youths and maidens to throb quicker, nature seems to have awoke our intellectual bees. They forthwith wing their flight to the Dominion Capital of Canada ; each anxious to bear an offering to the federation of science and letters in session there during a whole week ; for has not the notice of the Annual May Convocation of the Royal Society gone forth ? Here, under the folds of the glorious old flag which more than once has stood a friend to Canada, in full view of a neighbouring people perhaps less favored than ourselves in point of extent of territory, however much they have otherwise prospered, with laws differing from our own and a form of government which we think inferior to ours, it is the aim of our society to co-operate in the perpetuation of the free institutions implanted in this great, this rising dependency, this lesser Britain, which guarantees liberty and equality to every man, to every creed.

But why should I expatiate on the aspirations and worth of the Royal Society? A friend has just whispered in my ear that it has become a national institution, so essential in fact to the welfare of the country, that should this great Dominion be deprived of a Governor-General or of a Prime-Minister and the Royal Society to boot, it would go to smash and fall to pieces! (laughter and applause.)

We thank you, my Lord, for your bounteous and princely hospitality. We thank you, our Honorary President, for the deep interest you take in our proceedings. Again we thank you, and most cordially, for your delicate, unremitting—shall I say paternal—solicitude for our welfare during our presence in Ottawa. For similar acts of kindness and sweet courtesies to our Society, we thank your noble, earnest, courageous Countess, your trusted help-mate, whom our members seem, one and all, to have in their hearts added to the list of true friends of the Royal Society.

Long and happy days to Your Excellencies in this dear Canada of ours, and when you shall have returned to your ancestral halls beyond the sea, long life and prosperity to you and yours." (Prolonged applause.)

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25273

